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CONTENTS.—*Mr. Cobbett's 1st Let. to Mr. Mac Intosh,* 289. *Let. to Ld. Hawkesbury on Louisiana,* 297. *Rome, Vienna,* 304. *Paris. Buonaparté & Swiss Dep.* 305. *Buonaparté's State of Rep.* 306. *Gaz.* 309. *Distrib. of the Br. Army,* 309. *Distrib. of the Br. Navy,* 310. *Remarks on Buonaparté's Statement,* 310. *Mr. Peltier's Trial. The Proceedings against Printers in Jersey,* 314. *Napper Tandy's Letter to Lord Pelham considered,* 316. *French Hostility to Brit. Comm. and Manufactures,* 317. *State & Prospects of the Island of St. Domingo,* 320.

TO JAMES MAC INTOSH, ESQ.

SIR,—The trial of MR. PELTIER, on which public expectation has dwelt for so long a time, has, at last, terminated in a manner contrary to the wishes of every man, who entertains a just dread of the all-devouring influence of France. To say, that you could have prevented the conviction, would, perhaps, be going too far. It is, generally speaking, very unreasonable to blame an advocate for the loss of a cause; but, when that advocate is praised, when his defence is publicly extolled as the most able that a court and jury ever listened to, such praise, if suffered to pass unquestioned, operates as an additional accusation against the person whom it could not preserve, and as a strong presumptive proof of the fair and honourable motives of his prosecutor; to a juridical condemnation it does, in fact, add a condemnation by the voice of the world. With a hope of being able to afford MR. PELTIER some little shelter against this latter species of condemnation, I have now taken up the pen.

But, before I proceed to an examination of your defence, it is proper to cite some of the encomiastic publications, to which I have alluded. At the head of your speech, as given in the Morning Post, and as copied, verbatim, by me, were the following words: —"Mr. Mac Intosh made a speech of three "hours, which for eloquence, feeling, ex- "tent, and variety of information, inge- "nuity, and depth of argument, was equal "to any thing that the court has ever "witnessed. The following out-line con- "veys nearly all that was *material to Mr.* "*Peltier's case.*"—At the end of the speech were these words:—"The learned counsel "concluded his speech, which lasted for "three hours. We confess our *inability*" [modest people!] "even to give a *just* "*character* of it. For profound and exten- "sive political knowledge it was superior "to any we ever heard in Westminster "Hall. It was truly a torrent of eloquence, "which seized the hearers, and bore them "away with its impetuosity."—Then again, in the same print, of the 24th instant:— "The speech of Mr. Mac Intosh, on Mr. "Peltier's trial, is a theme of admiration "in all companies. So much information, "eloquence, and reasoning, have seldom "been displayed in a court of law."—The True Briton of the 25th instant has the following:—"The neat speech of Mr. Mac "Intosh was so distinguished by genius, "knowledge, and eloquence, that it will "be his own fault *if he does not rise to the* "*highest distinction at the English bar.*"—More is useless, or I could add half a score other of the most disgusting puffs that ever disgraced even the columns of the London newspapers.

Now, Sir, I have read this speech with very great attention; and, without having the presumption to attempt what the Morning Post (which has the advantage of belonging to a *near relation of yours*) has openly confessed its inability to do; without supposing myself able to describe, with suitable sublimity, that which is here represented as having blinded the world with its brilliancy, I shall, nevertheless, venture to approach it, to look into its several parts, and to determine for myself what it really and truly possesses, whether of merit or of defect. And here, I think it necessary to premise, that I do not hold myself bound to consider it as an historical sketch of the balance of power, nor as a treatise on trade and commerce, nor as a lecture on metaphysics, nor as a general eulogium on the typographical art, nor, in short, as any thing but that which it professes to be, and which it ought to have been, a defence of MR. PELTIER against the charges alleged in the information. Viewing it in this light, and in this light only, there are four distinct points, which present themselves for examination. The defence is to be considered relative, 1. To the general character of your cause and of your client; 2. To the precedents on which the prosecution was founded; 3. To the principle which gave rise to those precedents; and, 4. To the application of that principle to the present case.

1. As to the general character of your cause and of your client.—It appears to me, Sir, that the first object of an advocate ought to be, to give to the jury, if possible, a prepossession in favour, not only of his

cause, but also of the general character and conduct of his client. If the case be so desperate as to render the accomplishment of this object utterly impossible, it is, then, wise to refrain from attempting it; but, in no case, however palpably bad, and however heinous the crime, can it, in my opinion, be proper to make any admissions of a contrary tendency. Upon this principle, which I have never heard controverted, it is, that I cannot applaud the opening of your defence.

After a high eulogium on that intrepidity, by which the British Bar had been distinguished, and of which intrepidity you were, one would have hoped, about to give so striking and memorable an instance, you began your defence of MR. PELTIER with an ill-boding acknowledgment of the numerous *difficulties*, which you had to encounter, and, as a proof of your sincerity, in this respect, you added an explicit declaration, that if you could have avoided these difficulties, you would not have encountered them. The words ascribed to you by the Morning Post are these:—"You "may, indeed, conceive that having had "the presumption to encounter those *dif-* "*ficulties*, I have no title to indulgence in "contending with them. *I did not seek* "*them*, but having *unexpectedly fallen in with* "*them*, I will not now turn my back on "them: here I found them, and here I "will meet and engage them with every "exertion of whatever power I possess. "Acting on these principles, before an "English jury, I am sure that if my feel- "ings shall, in any instance, betray me into "any excessive warmth, my client will not "suffer for my error. He *imposed* on me "the trust of his defence, and *I could not* "*decline it.*" Which was, certainly, as much as to say, that you would have declined it if you could. It is common, I believe, for advocates, who are, either *ex officio* or otherwise, charged with the defence of persons, who are accused of what the law justly calls infamous and horrid crimes, and whose guilt is manifest; it may be common, in such cases, which seem to communicate a sort of contamination to every one at all concerned in them, to apologize to the court and jury for having undertaken the cause. Even this, however, does not seem to be quite just; for, every man is, in a court of justice, to be presumed innocent, until he is legally found, and declared to be, guilty; and, if this presumption ought to exist, in full force, in the minds of others, nothings surely ought to be said to impair it by the sworn defender of the person accused. But, whatever excuse there may be for the timidity of advocates engaged in causes of this sort, it will not, I am certain, by any man of sense, be found applicable to that of MR. PELTIER; yet, it would be difficult to imagine, how you could have been more shy, how you could have disowned a cause more explicitly, how you could have testified greater anxiety to apologize for the defence you were about to make, if your client had stood charged, on the clearest evidence, of the blackest, the foulest, the most detestable and most horrid of crimes. The defender of Despard himself could not have exhibited stronger marks of conscious disgrace. You "did "not seek" the cause, it was "imposed" on you, and you "could not decline it." Suppose this to be true. It is the business of an advocate to defend causes which he does not seek; and, indeed, though I will not, with the ill natured Dean, compare a brief-hunting lawyer to a street-walking beauty, I must avow my belief, that a lawyer of worth will be almost as reluctant as a woman of virtue to make the first advance. With regard to the liberty, which a practising advocate has of refusing to undertake a cause, there may be some difference of opinion; but, when once he has undertaken it, whether from friendship, from interest, or from a sense of the obligation imposed on him by his profession, he is by no means at liberty to injure it, in any manner, or for any purpose whatever, particularly for that of gratifying any feelings of his own. It is, indeed, possible to suppose a case of *absolute force*. We have all heard of an admiral, who, being in great need of a court of vice-admiralty, sent out his cruizers, actually captured a judge upon the high seas, brought him in, and set him instantly to the glorious work of adjudication. Compulsion like this might justify an apology on the part of the learned person here spoken of, just upon the same principle that a pressed-man always thinks himself at liberty to desert; but, I know of nothing short of the use compulsion, of actual physical force, or, at least, of a threat against life or limb, that can possibly justify an advocate in disowning a cause which he has once undertaken.—Very different, however, very different indeed, was the situation, in which you stood, with regard to the cause of MR. PELTIER. You will, doubtless, anticipate what I am now going to say, and I assure you I feel no other pleasure in saying it, than that which arises from an act of justice done towards an injured and oppressed individual.—You *could* have declined the defence of MR. PELTIER; it was *not* IMPOSED on you; nay,

Sir, you did *seek* this defence, you did actually *ask for it*, you did earnestly *solicit* to be employed by the very person whom you represented as having *imposed* his defence upon you in such a way that *you could not decline it!* Nor was this application made, on your part, in a manner easily to be forgotten. It was by letter, by a letter written with your own hand, and in your own name, that you asked for this cause; and, lest the application to MR. PELTIER (to whom you were an utter stranger), should fail of success, you backed it by another letter to MR. DULAU, of Soho Square, through whom you obtained an introduction to your intended client. MR. PELTIER had never known you; I do not believe that he had ever heard of you; you took him totally by surprize; you fastened on him in a way that rendered it next to impossible for him to disentangle himself: in short, the very reverse of your statement is true: you *sought* the defence of Mr. Peltier, you *imposed* yourself on him, and he could not, without absolute rudeness, decline your officious interference!

Having thought it right to begin your defence with an apology for undertaking it, the general character and leading principles of your client naturally enough presented themselves as the next objects of degradation. Accordingly you represent MR. PELTIER as the publisher of an "*obscure* journal." You call him "a *poor*, "*proscribed*, French emigrant;" a person in "a state of *dependence* and *destitution*;" an "*unfortunate stranger*;" a "*weak*, *defenceless* "*fugitive*."—Is this the way, Sir, for an advocate to maintain the character of his client? Was this a likely way to efface the imputations cast on MR. PELTIER by the charges of the information? Was this picture a true one? Was your client so poor, so mean, so wretched a caitiff as to have no hope but what was built on *compassion*, on that most weak and most short-lived of all the feelings of the human breast? MR. PELTIER, is no *stranger*, Sir, in England; no, nor in any other country where literature is known. MR. PELTIER is not so much a stranger in England as you are, Sir; and, as to the rest of the world, there is not a day, when he is not spoken of with admiration by thousands upon thousands, who never have heard, and never will hear, the name of Mac Intosh pronounced. Mr. Peltier was amongst the very first to oppose the destructive principles of the French revolution, and, had there been only a few such men, a very small number, those principles never would have prevailed. Brissot, in speaking of the *Actes des Apôtres* (one of the first of Mr. Peltier's works), declared that it had done more harm to the republican cause than all the armies of the allies. This gentleman had, at the moment when he honoured you with his defence, been fifteen years engaged, most earnestly engaged, without an hour's relaxation or repose, in the cause of royalty against republicanism, of social order against anarchy, of religion against blasphemy. In the progress of these his most laudable endeavours he had written, translated, and compiled, nearly a hundred octavo volumes, every part of which had had an immense circulation, and the whole must have produced in the world a considerable portion of that effect, which has obtained, for this country, a respite, at least, from destruction. He attacked the revolutionary monster with every species of weapon, reason, eloquence, and ridicule. That this last is not usually the least efficacious has been but too amply proved by Voltaire, who employed it as successfully for a bad purpose as Mr. Peltier has done for a good one. In the use of this weapon the latter has been particularly happy, and, in the midst of all his millions of pleasantries, he never has, notwithstanding the great haste in which many of his pieces must have passed from his pen to the public eye; he never has, in all his voluminous writings let fall one sentence calculated to encourage or to excuse vice of any sort: his wit has always been held in due subordination to virtue and religion. As a striking and most honourable proof of the great talents and sound principles of MR. PELTIER, I shall here cite the testimonial given, no longer ago than the 16th instant, under the hand and seal of His Royal Highness the Prince of Condé.—"The attachment which MR. PELTIER has "constantly shewn in his writings, to the "person of the unfortunate Lewis the "XVIth, as well as to the persons of his "legitimate successors; his zeal and his "energy in defending, from the commencement of the revolution, the cause of "kings, of social order, and the true constitution of France, do honour, in our "opinion, to his talents and his courage, "and entitle him to peculiar claims on the "gratitude of the House of Bourbon: for "this reason, we hereby grant him the "present testimonial of our special esteem, "and authorize him to produce it wherever it can be serviceable to him; desiring that those persons to whom it shall "be presented, will consider it as the expression of our personal regard for Mr. "Peltier, and a tribute of justice to his "fidelity to his legitimate sovereign, as

" well as to the ardour of his invariable " attachment to the most sacred of duties." —This testimonal, Sir, you had in your possession before you went into court; it was, perhaps, in your pocket at the very moment that you were representing your client as the most wretched of mortals. I do not know how you may value a testimonial like this: perhaps not very highly: but, I am persuaded, that every man unadulterated by the new-fangled doctrines, and particularly every sincere royalist, will regard it as an honour, which ought not to have been overlooked by MR. PELTIER's advocate.—It is not the Bourbons only, however, who owe a debt of gratitude to MR. PELTIER. He has laboured in the cause of the British as well as that of the French monarchy. During the last war he wrote and translated hundreds of pieces for the government here. He was the ablest as well as the most faithful writer which that government ever employed, and he rendered it the most effectual service. One of his last acts of this sort was, if I am not misinformed, a translation of that famous speech, wherein MR. PITT described the character of *the Child and Champion of Jacobinism*, and which speech, by the help of MR. PELTIER, was sent, in sprightly and elegant French, to every court in Europe! And, that Mr. Peltier did not render these services merely for emolument, and without regard to principle, you might have deduced a very satisfactory proof from the circumstances of his prosecution; for, if he had been a hireling, he would have followed the tergiversations of government; he would, with Lord Hawkesbury, have abused and libelled Buonaparté in 1800, and, with the same "*safe* politician," would have sung his praises in 1801. Had he been a hireling, he would, like the rest of the servile scribblers, of whom Mr. George Rose was paymaster-general, have escaped the fangs of the law. Had he been a downright, steady, thorough-paced hireling, a slave without a will, without a soul, without a thought of his own; had he been one of these dishonoured, these base, these prostituted mortals, he would never have been prosecuted by the British government, which, if it ever happens to be supported by a man of honour and independence, seems constantly to lie in wait for an opportunity to reward him with some special mark of its ingratitude and malice.—These, amongst other things, you should have told the court and jury.—You should have described your client as he really was, a gentleman of high reputation both public and private; of inexhaustible resources of mind, of incredible facility of execution, of unwearied industry, of inflexible perseverance, of unshaken integrity, and as having great claims of gratitude on the whole civilized world, but particularly on England. Instead of descanting on the writings of the Marquis of Montrose, of Cowley, and of God knows who besides, you might have occupied a small portion of the "three hours" in a description of the works of Mr. JEAN PELTIER. You might easily have shown, that, from the year 1792 to the close of the war, during nine of the most eventful years that this kingdom ever saw, Mr. PELTIER was constantly employed in combatting our enemies; that his pen was continually upon the watch to unveil the thousands of falsehoods and misrepresentations circulated against us, by means of the French press; that, in the West Indies, and in all foreign colonies and countries, he was our great, and almost our only, literary defender; that, with respect to this nation itself, he was ever the first to bring to light, and to expose to the people, the treacherous intentions and the horrid deeds of the republican tyrants; and, in short, you might safely have asserted, that to the efforts of your client, more than to those of any other individual, the very audience, to whom you were speaking, owed the existence of that liberty which they yet enjoyed. And was this gentleman, who has resided so many years in the kingdom, who, besides his having married an English lady, has bound us to him by so many such powerful and such honourable ties; was this gentleman, Sir, to be represented as a "poor defenceless fugitive," as an "unfortunate *stranger*," as the writer of an "*obscure* journal," as being in a "state of dependence and *destitution*," as something, in short, very little better than a pauper, whom it might, in fact, be a charity to remove from his miserable garret to a good warm rent-free room in the King's-bench prison? Was *this* the light, Sir, in which to exhibit Mr. PELTIER? Was it for the purpose of making this exhibition, that you sought his acquaintance and solicited his defence?

Leaving you, Sir, to answer these questions, I should now proceed to consider your speech as relative to the merits of the case itself; but, when you perceive the press of other important matter, with which I am surrounded, I make no doubt you will have the goodness to excuse me for postponing this part of the subject till next week. In the mean time, I remain your most obedient servant,

London, 26 *Feb.* 1803. WM. COBBETT.

TO THE RT. HON. LD. HAWKESBURY, &c.

My Lord,—In my last letter, (1) I gave your lordship an account of the measures, which have already taken place, with respect to the interests of the Anglo-Americans, as connected with the cession of Louisiana, and, at the same time, I endeavoured to describe the feelings excited by those measures, reserving, for the subject of the present letter, the remaining two points; to wit: the conduct which will hereafter be pursued by the French, together with the effect thereof on the Americans; and, the ultimate consequences, with respect to the commerce, the navigation, the power, and the independence of England.

To you, my lord, and your most worthy colleagues, whose minds seldom wander beyond the places which you occupy, and which you hope to occupy to the termination of your natural lives; to you, whose travels and whose topographical knowledge extend no farther than to Richmond Park, or thereabouts; to you, or to that wise man the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who thought that the United States might be annoyed as effectually by a military post in St. Domingo as by a similar post at New Orleans: to such near-sighted, slow-paced, caterpillar politicians, the task, here undertaken, must, of course, appear perfectly "quixotic;" but, to men of other minds, it falls within the ordinary efforts of diligent inquiry and sober reason.

Buonaparté, aided by the advice of the better informed and more politic men, by whom he is surrounded, will pay due attention to all the American Official Papers, to which I have referred your lordships (2); and being regularly, minutely and correctly informed, by his agents in America, of the feelings, the wishes, the intentions, and the means, of the different classes of the people as well as of the different parties in the legislature and in the executive government, will fashion his system accordingly. He will perceive, that the cool and dubious language of the government by no means comes up to the public feeling, as expressed in the newspapers (3). He will perceive, that, while the people are loud for *arming*, the President talks of nothing but *economy*, and expressly discourages the idea of any augmentation of the military force of the country (4). But, he will, at the same time, see the possibility of Jefferson and his party being secretly hostile to him, on account of his late assumption of regal powers, and particularly on account of his obvious contempt of them, of which Mr. Chancellor Livingston, the American Minister at Paris, has not, undoubtedly, failed to inform them. From this cause, aided by the resentment of the people of America, the Consul may be led to apprehend the adoption of such measures as might render the occupation of Louisiana an enterprize not entirely free from trouble, danger, and delay. To prevent this latter alternative, if, from his information, it appears likely to happen, the Corsican will instantly signify his disapprobation of the measures of the Spanish Intendant; he will order the prohibition at New Orleans to be taken off; and, will communicate to the Americans, this his gracious act of condescension, in terms which shall at once inspire the mass of the people with gratitude, with respect, and with that sort of fear which never fails to prepare the vulgar mind for implicit submission. Instantly the English traitors, and all his other typographical partizans, will begin to pour forth the praises of France. The odium of the prohibition will be thrown exclusively on the Spaniards; the people of the Western States, rejoiced at getting rid of these neighbours, more rejoiced at the restoration of their commerce, without the dangers and expenses of war, will hail Buonaparté as their deliverer; and, even the people of the Atlantic States, finding that the Swiss have been basely abandoned, finding that England has now clearly, though tacitly, acknowledged her incapacity ever again to draw the sword against France, will once more congratulate themselves, as they did when they first heard of the treaty of peace, that they no longer have any political connexion with this "disgraced and falling empire."—Scarcely will this impression, so favourable to the views of France, have been produced in the United States, when her army, her captains-general, her engineers, her commercial agents, her savans, her commissaries, her juges de paix, all her endless train of spies and inquisitors, of great and little tyrants, will land at New Orleans. For some months, perhaps for a year, all possible liberty of commerce will be given to the Americans; and, in the mean time, the country round the mouth of the Mississippi will be carefully explored: the best positions will be fortified; the friendship of the Indians, who are very numerous and very brave, will be cultivated; the States of Ohia, Tennessee, Kentucky, &c. &c. will

(1) See p. 226.
(2) See p. 226, 227, 228. See also p. 240 to 244.
(3) See p. 230, 231.
(4) See Mr. Jefferson's Speech, p. 139.

be examined, in all manner of ways, the interests of the inhabitants will be calculated, their inclinations sounded, and the means of their respective state governments will be ascertained. When all the preparations are made, the French will strike the first blow, not against America, but against England, and a mortal blow it will be. The exact time and shape of the first measure of hostility it is impossible to ascertain. The pretexts are so numerous, that it is next to impossible to know which France may choose. That, however, which I think she will choose is this. Our treaty with America expires on the 1st of October next. That no other will be formed is pretty clear; and, of course, the government of the United States will be under no obligation to permit the importation of British goods upon the present terms, that is upon paying the same duty as is paid by the same sort of goods from France and other countries. Suppose France, when she has made all her preparations at the mouth of the Mississippi, should propose to the United States to lay a higher duty upon British than upon French manufactures, and should make the free navigation of the Mississippi depend upon a compliance with this proposition? Such a step might be called overbearing, insolent, and unjust; but, it would be useless to load it with these epithets, perfectly useless, for we have seen that such qualities are by no means an obstacle to success. The demand of a surrender of Napper Tandy, the conduct of Lauriston and Lundberg, were overbearing, insolent, and unjust, but we have not found them, for that reason, to fail of answering their purpose. Besides, the proposition I am speaking of contains a fair *quid pro quo:* give us a preference in serving you with manufactures, grant us this favour, and, in return, we will grant you the favour of a free navigation of the Mississippi. If you accept of the terms, it is well; if not, you cannot blame us for proposing them, nor for appropriating to ourselves the exclusive use and advantage of our territories. Be this as it may, however, be the proposition reasonable or unreasonable, fair or foul, just or unjust, that is not the question; the question, and the only question, will be, has France the *power* to enforce her demands. The people of the Atlantic States will be told, that, in case of a compliance with a proposition like the one here spoken of, they would have to purchase their woollens, their linens, their cottons, and their hardware, much dearer than they now do, purely for the sake of gratifying the interest and the malice of France; but, to tell them this will be of little avail, unless you can tell them, my lord, how to resist this Gallican tyranny; unless you can point out to them, at the same time, some outlet, other than that of the Mississippi, by which they may convey one sixth part of their exportable produce to the sea; unless your Lordship can, from those inexhaustible resources which you possess, draw forth some such discovery as this, all railing against Buonaparté will be as the whistling of the wind.—If the United States government yield to the first demand, that will pave the way for another and another and another, till British commerce is completely banished from the American ports, or till, at least, it is reduced to a mere smuggling trade as it already is in the countries bordering on the Scheldt and the Rhine; and, if the government of the United States should refuse, then the Western States, comprizing all the country lying between the Alleghany and Apalachian mountains, and the river Mississippi, together with all their fertility and population, will instantly fall into the hands, and under the absolute dominion of France. Your Lordship is, I know, of a different opinion; you think, that, because the Americans, when they were colonists of England, were not subdued by the French, but carried on a successful war against them, they will be able still more effectually to resist them now, when the population of America has trebled: because the Americans, when aided by the fleet and army of England, were able to do this, you think they will be able to do it of themselves; because the French were not able to injure them on the banks of the Mississippi when they did not inhabit those banks, the French cannot injure them there now when they do inhabit those banks; because the Americans were invulnerable at the mouth of the Mississippi when they had nothing to send to the sea through that channel, they are invulnerable there now when that is the only outlet to the produce of three whole states; because we, by possessing Canada, through the rivers of which the Americans never pass, have no influence over the United States, the French are to have no influence over them by means of the possession of Louisiana, through which the Americans must pass to the sea, unless they abandon their most fruitful lands and most flourishing settlements. But, my Lord, I delight in simplifying every subject on which I write to your lordship. "To teach the young idea how to shoot," is always a pleasing task. It was with this sort of paternal feeling towards your lordship, that I caused to be engraved the little map of the mouth of the Missis-

sippi, which was inserted in page 445, of the first volume of the Register, and which, if you had paid attention to it, would have spared the House of Commons the mortification of listening to those infantine observations, to which I have here found it necessary to allude. In pursuance of the same propensity it is, my lord, that I am now about to avail myself of the mechanical aid of the printer, in order to present you with a view of this subject, reduced to the level of the meanest capacity. I shall quote the memorable opinions advanced by your right sapient colleague, by the gallant hero of St. Domingo, by the Master of the Rolls, and by yourself, opposite to which I shall place the opinions now declared by the Americans themselves.

Mr. ADDINGTON (5) said that his right hon. friend could not say, that, if the French had not this extent of territory [Louisiana] *there*, they could not, if St. Domingo were tranquil, and affairs were at rest with them in *that quarter*, become, by means of a large military force, *formidable to either North or South America!!!!!*

GENERAL MAITLAND (6) said, of Louisiana he had heard, that it would enable France to attack the United States; but, when Louisiana was *formerly* in possession of France, it was totally *imbécile*, and it had not increased in population since it came into the hands of Spain. But it was contended, that the possession of Louisiana would give the French eventually great influence over the councils and measures of the United States: here there was one observation, that naturally occurred to the mind of every man, which was this: *we possess Canada*, yet that possession *does not enable us to influence the United States*; and, if this be the case, with how much *more force* does the argument apply to Louisiana!!!!!!

THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS (7) said, that with respect to the cession of Louisiana to France, the value and importance of that cession had been only *discovered within a few nights preceding*. It was *formerly* in possession of France, but she had not been able to draw from it those advantages, which, it was contended, she would derive from it now. With respect to *danger* arising from it, the only danger likely to result from it that he could discover, arose from bringing France in contact with the United States of America. It *might* happen, that, in the *course of* AGES, some danger would result from this connexion, but it *could not be soon!!!!!*

LORD HAWKESBURY (8) said, as to the political advantages which France will derive from the possession of Louisiana, *I doubt whether they can be of much importance.* Gentlemen have said a great deal about the influence, which this possession threatens to give France over the United States of America; but the possibility is, that the possession, *by placing the French upon the back of America*, every maxim of sound policy will incline the latter to cultivate a more intimate connexion with this country. The right hon. gentleman [Mr. Windham] *under-rated the population and power of the United States*, and forgot the successful exertions, which they, when colonies of this country, made against the French, in 1756, *though* the latter were *then* in possession of *both Louisiana and Canada!!!!!!*

MR. JEFFERSON'S MESSAGE. (9) The cession of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the last war, will, if carried into effect, *make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations*, which will, doubtless, have just weight in any deliberations of the Legislature connected with that subject.

MEMORIAL OF THE LEGISLATURE OF KENTUCKY. (10) Having, on a former occasion, when we represented the obstruction to the navigation of the Mississippi, experienced the attention and justice of the general government, in providing, by a treaty with the court of Spain, not only for the free navigation of that river, but for what, in our remote situation from the ocean, was *absolutely necessary to the enjoyment of it*, a place of *deposit* for our produce, we deem it necessary barely to state to you, &c. &c. &c. &c.

LETTER OF GOVERNOR CLIABORNE. (11) The late act of the Spanish government at New Orleans has excited considerable agitation at Natchez and its vicinity: *it has inflicted a severe wound on the agricultural and commercial interests of this territory, and will prove no less injurious to all the western country.*

LETTER OF GOVERNOR GARRARD. (12) The citizens of this state are very much alarmed and agitated; as this measure of the Spanish government will (if not altered) *at one blow cut up the present and future prosperity of their best interests by the roots.*

AMERICAN GAZETTE (13). That France, instigating the imbecile and pusillanimous cabinet of Madrid, is, in reality the secret mover of the recent infringement of our rights there are irresistible reasons for believing. The inference from this act of French diplomacy is clear and unequivocal. Buonaparté may now make a new bargain and dictate his terms of a fresh grant of the same privileges of which he has recently deprived us by his coercion of Spain. If we believe in the cession of Louisiana to France, we can find no difficulty in viewing the late measure of the Spanish Intendant as a prelude to our being interdicted the free navigation of the Mississippi. France thus *holding at her disposal* the important rights of deposit and of free ingress and egress by sea, can then, and most assuredly will, *tamper and negotiate with the western country, and having an inestimable boon to offer, and, probably, the additional privilege of trading to her West-India and European ports, on the favourite footing of colonists, will thereby easily secure their good will,* AND DETACH THEM FROM THE ATLANTIC STATES. The dismemberment of our empire, and the *dissolution of our union* being thereby effected, the close of this tragical drama may be as easily imagined as described.

Now, my Lord, do you and your colleagues never think of these things? Do you never reflect on what you have said and done? Do you never blush at your shameful ignorance, your egregious folly? Do you never tremble at the tremendous mischiefs which you have brought upon your country? Or, do you really think, that it is all a

(5) See Debates, Register, Vol. II. p. 1211. (6) Vol. II. p. 1377. (7) Vol. II. p. 1344. (9) Register, Vol. III. p. 137. (10) Ibid. p. 241. (11) Ibid p. 243.

(8) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 1390. (12) Ibid. Vol. III p. 244. (13) Ibid. p. 230.

hobgobbling story, and that the clerkship of the Pells will live as long as the clerk? Do you really and sincerely believe, that the seat in Richmond Park will remain in the hands of the Addingtons for ten years to come?

The effect, which the measures of France will produce on the Americans is clearly enough pointed out by the writer whom I have last quoted. The "inestimable boon," or rather the *necessary of life*, the free navigation of the Mississippi with leave of deposit at its mouth, will at any time, and under any circumstances, purchase the allegiance of the Western people; but, as the Atlantic States, which form a sort of mother country, will, for pride's sake, and, indeed, for the sake of peace and safety, of which all shop-keeping nations are very fond, endeavour to preserve that allegiance as long as possible, it is reasonable to suppose, that the French, whose first object will be to injure Great Britain, will, for some years, at least, exchange her rights of navigation and deposit for restrictions imposed, by the Atlantic States, on the British commerce and manufactures. At first, these restrictions, or whatever other measure France may demand, will, probably, be but slightly and partially felt; but her hand will weigh heavier and heavier in proportion as her establishments are completed in Louisiana; and, unless she should, all at once, drop down in a fit, as England did in 1801, there will not be, this day four years, a single bale of British goods shipped to the United States, and Britain will not hold a single inch of land in the Western Archipelago.—And *this*, my Lord, is the way, in which, "*by placing the French at the back of* "*the Americans*," your Lordship will have "*attached the latter more closely to this coun-*"*try*!" As if the people, who have lands on the Mississippi, and who have nothing in the world but those lands, would abandon them and become beggars, merely for the sake of those honest and generous gentlemen, the manufactures of Yorkshire and Birmingham; and that too after your sagacious Lordship has boasted of the clever trick of *placing the French upon their back!* Your country, my Lord, will pay dearly for this expression. The shop-keeping nation will, and ought to be punished, for the follies of such a statesman, because it is their fault that he has the *power* to injure them. Yes, my lord, the base rabble of cotton-spinners and stock-jobbers joined you most heartily in the project of *placing the French upon the back of the Americans:* they thought with you, my lord, that wars would succeed between those two nations, and that we might lie snugly by and profit from their losses. Brilliant idea! noble-minded conception! No, no; both of them are well acquainted with our views and our means; and, be you well assured, my good lord, that instead of a war against one another, which shall leave us in the enjoyment of a monopolizing neutrality, they will, if it be necessary, *unite in a war against us*. This appears to me to be the inevitable result of the cession of Louisiana, and of such a war the consequences are not less evident than they will be terrible to this country. It is from this quarter that I expect the blow, which is destined to shake the British empire to its base. So long ago as the year 1800, I besought the then ministry to turn their attention towards the other hemisphere, which they appeared to me totally to neglect; and, I remember, that, finding them to despise my exhortations, I predicted, that the fate of this country would be like that of the one-eyed doe. Two frigates and four thousand men, properly employed, at any time between 1796 and 1801; nay, one thousand pounds (only a third part of a year's salary of the Clerk of the Pells) expended in powder and lead, sent to General Bowles the Indian Chief, would have effectually preserved this country from the dangers, of which I am now speaking, and which, in spite of your lordship's sneers, will, in a very little time, reach the hearts of the holders of the three per cents. Perish the man who pities them! They have, for the sake of their own private interests, basely applauded the men who have ruined and dishonoured their country. Their just reward is at no great distance. A misunderstanding with the United States of America, which France will very soon bring about for us, would give the Temple of Mammon a ruder shock than it ever yet received.—In the mean time, my lord, you and your colleagues will take care to keep your places, the nation will continue sinking from one degree of baseness to another, so that, when the hour of annihilation arrives, all mankind will agree, that annihilation is a mercy.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c. WM. COBBETT.

London, March 1, 1803.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Rome, Jan. 24.—The Dutch Admiral De Winter having arrived with his squadron in the Port of Cagliari demanded of the Governor permission to land his troops on account of the sickness which prevailed amoug them, and their want of refreshment; but the Governor after having conferred with the English Commandant, refused to accede to the demand.

Vienna, Feb. 13.—The report of the approaching cession of Sardinia to England is contradicted by several persons in spite of the affectation and the tone of assurance with which it has been spread

Doubtless France and Russia would oppose a sale, which would augment almost without measure, the maritime preponderance of Great Britain, besides adding to its territorial power. It is easy to conceive that the Court of London may have employed every means to engage the King of Sardinia to give up his island. Twenty millions are very little for a state, which no longer calculates, because the deficit in its finances will no longer admit of calculation.

Paris, Feb. 26.—Last Saturday, Citizens d'Affry, Glutz, Jauch, Monnet, Reinhart, Sprecher, Stapfer, Ustery, Watteville, and Von Flue, composing the two committees of five members, formed by the fifty-six Swiss deputies, in order to take cognizance of the Act of Mediation made by the First Consul between the parties which divide Switzerland, were admitted to an audience of the First Consul.—The Consuls, the Senators, the Ministers, the Counsellors of State, and the Inspectors general of the army were present, and also Citizens Barthelemy, Rœderer, Fouche, and Demeunier, senators, members of the committee charged to confer with the Swiss deputies assembled at Paris.—Citizen Barthelemy, president of the commission, having received from the hands of the First Consul the Act of Mediation, signed, countersigned, and sealed with the great seal of state, delivered the Act to Citizen Louis d'Affry, appointed Landamman of Switzerland.—The First Consul conversed some time with each of the members of the two committees of Swiss deputies, when the audience terminated.—On Monday the same persons assisted at the audience. Citizen Barthelemy, President of the Committee of Senators, presented to the First Consul the forty-seven Swiss deputies. The remainder of the fifty-six, who formed the whole deputation had previously set off for Paris.—Citizen Louis d'Affry, Landamman of Switzerland, delive ed the following address:—"Citizen First Consul, "—Called by the meditation which you have "pronounced, to the important, but difficult si- "tuation of Landamman of Switzerlnnd, it is "flattering to me, in becoming the organ of the "Deputation which my country has sent to you, "to have for my first function the duty of testi- "fying to you the gratitude with which it is pe- "netrated for the benevolent attention which "you have designed to give to that work which "confirms the independence of Switzerland.— "Your first benefit is to have restored to the "different people of Switzerland thefederative go- "vernment which was alone congenial to them.— "The result of your mediation will recreate those "ties of policy which have united two nations "accustomed to confer reciprocal advantages, and "formed for mutual esteem. The troubles which "have agitated my country will cease—the pow- "ers which are friendly to Switzerland will ap- "plaud the means employed by the First Consul "to arrest the sad effects of a party spirit. I owe "it to my country to second your benevolent "views, and I owe it to myself to be perfectly im- "partial in the exercise of the functions which "are conferred upon me.—I pray the First Consul "to receive and to accept with goodness the ho- "mage of our profoundrespect."—The First Consul having answered Citizen Louis d'Affry, and conversed with the different Swiss deputies, the audience terminated.—Citizen Louis d'Affry, Landamman of Switzerland, set out the same day for Berne. *

* A full account of these proceedings will be given hereafter.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

View of the State of the Republic; presented to the Legislative Body by order of the Government. Paris, February 22, 1803.

Events have neither frustrated the wishes nor disappointed the expectations of government. The Legislative Body, on resuming its labours, has the satisfaction of finding the Republic strengthened by the union of its citizens, more active in its pursuits of industry, and more confident in its prospects of prosperity.—The execution of the concordat, from which the enemies of public order still ventured to conceive criminal hopes, has almost every where produced the most beneficial effects. The principles of an enlightened religion, the voice of the sovereign Pontiff, the firmness and perseverance of government have triumphed over every obstacle. Mutual sacrifices have reunited the ministers of religion; enlightened reason, and cordial unanimity have revived the Gallican church; and the happiest change has already manifested itself in the public morals. Every day produces a more perfect coincidence of opinion and of sentiment. Childhood is more docile to the instructions of parents, and youth more submissive to the authority of magistrates. The conscription goes on smoothly in those very places, where the mere name of conscription was sufficient to stimulate insurrection, and to serve the country is now become a duty of religion.—In those departments, which the First Consul visited, he every where received pledges, and observed proofs of a return to those principles which constitute the strength and the happiness of society.—In the departments of the Eure, the Lower Seine, the Oise, the inhabitants proudly exult in the national glory. They are sensible to their full extent of the advantages of equality. They hail with blessings the restoration of peace; they receive with blessings the re-establishment of public worship. These are the ties that bind down every heart to the state and the constitution.—It is the duty of government to cherish and direct these auspicious dispositions.—Other forms of worship have been regularly organized. Consistories are formed of enlightened citizens, tried and acknowledged defenders of public order, of civil and religious liberty.—Public instruction, that indispensible support of society, is every where sought after with eagerness and alacrity. Several Lyceums have already been opened; already, as government had well foreseen, a number of private schools aspire to the rank of the secondary schools. The whole body of citizens shew their conviction that their can be no happiness without the light of education; that, without talents and information, there can be no equality but that of misery and servitude.—A military school is opened to receive the young defenders of the country. Soldiers, they will learn to support the life of camps, and endure the fatigues of war. By long habits of obedience they will be trained up to the art of commanding, and they will bring to the armies courage and discipline, united with talents and with knowledge.—In the Lyceums, as well as in the military school, the youth of the departments, newly incorporated with the republic, will live mingled without any distinction with the youth of old France. From this confusion of minds and manners, from this communication of habits and of dispositions, from this commixture of interests, of projects, and of hopes, will spring up that fraternity, which of several nations will make but one people, destined by their position, by their

courage, and by their virtues, to form the centre of union, and the example of Europe.—The National Institute, which has its ascendancy over public instruction, has received a more useful direction, and henceforward will exert a more active influence over the national character, over the language of the country, and over the arts, sciences, and literature.—In order to ensure the stability of our infant institutions, in order to remove from the eyes of the public the spectre of discord which appeared to them in the periodical return of elections to the supreme magistracy, the friends of the country called for the Consulate for life to be granted to the First Magistrate. The people upon being consulted answered to their call, and the Senate proclaimed the will of the people. The system of lists of eligibility could not resist the test of experience, and the force of public opinion.—The organization of the senate was incomplete.—The national justice was left to be administered by tribunals without harmony, and without dependance on each other. There was no authority to protect or to reform them; no tie of restraint to subject them to one common discipline.—In fine, there was wanting to France a power to reclaim justice itself, the power of granting pardon.—How often these twelve years past has that power been implored! How many unfortunates have fallen the victims of an inflexible sternness, with which wise men reproached our laws! How many criminals have been acquitted through a false indulgence, because our punishments were too severe!—A *senatus consultum* has restored to the people the exercise of those rights which the constituent assembly had acknowledged; but it has restored them surrounded with precautions, which preserve the people from errors or precipitation in their choice; with precautions which guard the influence of property, and the preponderance of enlightened talents.—Should the first magistracy become vacant, the duties and the proceedings of the Senate are traced out for such an emergency—forms of certain operation guide the wisdom and liberty of their choice; and the quick decision of that choice deprives ambition of the means of conspiring, and anarchy of the means of destroying.—The cement of time will every day consolidate, more and more, this tutelary institution. It will be not only the term of all disquietudes, and the object of all hopes, but likewise the fairest recompences that can be held out to public services, and public virtues.—Justice embraces all the tribunals with one common bond. They have each their subordinate station, and their censor—they are always free in the exercise of their functions. Always independent of power, but never independent of the laws.—The privilege of granting pardon, when the interest of the republic requires it, or when circumstances prescribe indulgence, is entrusted to the hands of the First Magistrate; but it is only confided to him under the guard of justice itself; he is to exercise it only under the eyes of a council, and after having consulted the severest oracles of the law.—If institutions may be appreciated by their effects, never was any institution more important in its result than the organic *senatus consultum*. From that moment the French people began to confide in their destiny; property began to resume its former value, and speculations of distant views to be multiplied—until that moment every thing seemed to float in uncertainty. The present moment was cherished; the next was a subject of alarm, and the enemies of the country continued to cherish hopes. Since that moment they are reduced to impotence and to detestation.—The island of Elba has been ceded to France; that acquisition gives her a mild and industrious people; two fine ports, a productive and precious mine: but being separated from France, it could not be intimately united with any of her departments, or subjected to the regulations of a common administration. Principles have been made to bend to the necessity of circumstances; exceptions have been established for the island of Elba which its position, and the public interest prescribed.—The abdication of the sovereign, the will of the people, and the necessity of existing circumstances, had placed Piedmont under the power of France. Amidst the nations that surrounded it, with the elements that composed its population, Piedmont was unable to support either the weight of its own independence, or the expenses of a monarchy. United to France, it will reap the benefits of its security, and its greatness; its laborious and enlightened citizens will exert their industry and their talents in the bosom of the arts, and under the shade of peace.—Security and tranquillity prevail in the interior of France. The vigilance of the magistracy, the severity of justice, and a gendarmerie vigorously appointed, and directed by a commander, grown grey in the career of honour, has every where impressed terror on the minds and the attempts of the brigands.—Private interest has raised itself to a sentiment of public interest. Citizens have not shrunk from attacking those whom they formerly dreaded, even when they were chained down at the foot of the tribunals of justice. Whole communes have taken up arms and destroyed the brigands. Foreigners envy the security of our public roads, and that public force, which though often invisible, is always present, attend on their footsteps, and watch for their protection, without any necessity of imploring its aid.—During the course of a difficult year, amidst the exigencies of a general scarcity, the poor looked with confidence to the care of government. They supported with courage the privations which necessity imposed; and they received with gratitude the succours which they were taught to expect.—The crime of forgery is no longer encouraged by the hope of impunity. The zeal of the tribunals appointed to prosecute and punish it, and the just severity of the laws, have at length checked the progress of an evil which threatened both the public treasure, and the fortunes of individuals.—Our cultivation daily improves, and defies the most boasted agricultural systems of Europe. In every department are to be found enlightened farmers, who afford both instruction and example.—Premiums have been held out for improving the breed of horses; and similar encouragements are proposed for the improvement of wool by the introduction of a foreign breed of sheep. Zealous administrators are every where occupied in tracing out and revealing the richness of our soil, and in disseminating the useful plans and the happy results which experience daily discovers.—Our manufactures multiply and receive new spirit and improvement. While they emulate each, they will soon, no doubt, become the rivals of the most renowned manufactures of foreign countries. Henceforth there will be nothing wanting to their prosperity but capitals less dearly purchased. But capitalists begin already to give up the hazardous speculations of stock-jobbing; and devote their attention to the improvement of land and the pursuit of useful enterprizes.—More than 20,000 workmen, who were dispersed throughout Europe, have been recalled by the attention and by the favours of govern-

ment, and will soon be restored to our manufactures.—Among our manufactures there is one which is almost peculiar to France, which Colbert kindled up by his genius. It was buried under the ruins of Lyons: government has exerted all its endeavours to extricate it. Lyons is again restored to splendour and opulence; already do its manufactures impose a tribute on the luxury of Europe. But the principle of their success is to be found in the luxury of France itself; it is in the changefulness of our taste, and the mutability of our fashions, that foreign luxury must look for its aliment, it is it that gives motion and life to an immense population, who, without that encouragement, must lose itself in corruption and misery. —There will soon be at Compiegne, there will soon arise on the confines of La Vendee, a number of Prytanees, where our youth will be brought up in habits of industry, and instructed in the mechanical arts. From that source our dockyards and our manufactures will one day draw inspectors to direct their labours.—Fourteen millions arising out of the barrier tax, and ten millions out of the extraordinaries, have been employed during the year 10 in improving the public roads, in keeping up the old communications. New communications have also been opened. The Simplon, Mount-Cenis, and Mount-Genevre, will soon open a triple and easy access to Italy—a high road will lead from Genoa to Marseilles—a road is chalked out from Saint Esprit to Gap—another from Rennes to Brest, through Pontivy. At Pontivy establishments are to be raised which will have a powerful influence over the public mind of the departments of which ci-devant Britanny was composed—a canal will introduce into it new sources of commerce and prosperity.—On the banks of the Rhine from Bingen to Coblentz, a necessary road is cut through inaccessible rocks. The neighbouring Communes associate their labours to the sacrifices of the public treasury, and the people of the other bank, who ridiculed the folly of the enterprise, are astonished and confounded at the rapidity of the execution.—A great number of workmen are employed on the Canal of St. Quintin.—The Canal of Ourcq is opened, and soon will Paris enjoy the benefit of its waters, and the salubrity and the embellishments which they promise.—The canal intended to unite the navigation of the Seine and the Saone, of the Danube and the Rhine, is almost entirely finished as far as Dole, and the public treasury already receives in the increased price of wood, to which that canal opens the approach, a sum equal to that which it has furnished for the continuance of the work.

(To be continued.)

DOMESTIC.

GAZETTE.—His Majesty in Council on the 24th Feb. was pleased to re-appoint Thomas Hare, of Stow Hall, Esq. Sheriff for the County of Norfolk.

Dublin Castle, Feb. 11, 1803.—His Majesty has been pleased, by his Royal Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Ireland, to grant the following Dignities in the Peerage of Ireland, viz.—To Edmond Henry Viscount Limerick, and the Heirs Male of his Body, the Dignity of Earl of Limerick, of the County of Limerick:—To William Power Keating Viscount Dunlo, and the Heirs Male of his Body, the Dignity of Earl of Clancarty, of the County of Cork:—And to Charlotte Baroness Newcomen, Wife of Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, Baronet, the Dignity of Viscountess Newcomen, of Moss Town, in the County of Longford; and the Dignity of Viscount Newcomen, of Moss Town aforesaid, to the Heirs Male of her Body by the said Sir Wm. Gleadowe Newcomen.

BANKRUPTS.—Corbett, J. Milk-street, Warehouseman.—Richardson, J. Manchester, cotton-spinner.—Spence, T. Blackburn, shopkeeper.—Thompson, W. jun. Wolverhampton, grocer.—Spence, W. Upper-Catton, Yorkshire, corn-factor. Boyles, J. Wellclose-square, wine-merchant.—Staples, L. Wapping, Staffordshire, warehouseman.—Le Souef, P. Great Winchester-street, merchant.—Reddish, J. Sutton, cotton-factor.—James, S. St. Philips Gloucestershire.

Births.—On Friday, the Hon. Mrs. Ryder of a daughter.

BR. ARMY *on the 1st Feb.* 1803.	Regulars Cav.	Regulars Inf.	Fe. Inf.	Tot Ba.	Inv. Co
England and Wales	20	27	1	48	
North Britain	2	4		6	
Ireland	7	25	2	34	
Jersey, Guernsey, &c.		5		5	
Gibraltar		5		6	
Egypt and Malta	1	7		8	
Canada, Nova Scotia, &c.		4	1	5	
West-Indies		23		23	
Cape of Good Hope, Goree, &c.		5		5	
East-Indies, and on Passage to	5	20		25	
On Passage to England or Ire.		6		6	
Total	35	132	4	171	

The above statement is exclusive of artillery, engineers, artificers, and Militia.—We beg our readers to pay attention to the number of troops kept up in the *West Indies*.

BR. NAVY, 1st FEB.	Line.	50's	Frig.	Sps.	Tot.
In Port and fitting	10	3	35	53	101
Guard Ships	0	0	0	0	0
English and Irish Channels	0	0	6	9	15
Downs and North Sea	0	0	7	11	18
West-Indies and Passage	2	0	6	21	29
Jamaica station	10	0	6	6	22
America and Newfoundland	0	1	3	5	9
Cape of G. Hope, East-Indies,	5	7	12	17	41
Coast of Africa	0	0	1	1	2
Portugal and Gibraltar	2	0	2	3	7
Mediterranean and on Passage	8	2	20	10	40
Hospital and Prison Ships	1	0	0	0	1
Total in Commission	38	13	98	136	285
Receiving Ships	7	0	7	1	15
Serviceable and repairing	24	1	9	2	36
In Ordinary	104	11	97	70	282
Building	24	0	10	3	37
Total	197	25	221	212	655
ORDINARY.					
Portsmouth	37	3	28	11	79
Plymouth	47	1	21	23	92
Chatham	44	7	21	2	74
Sheerness	4	1	10	9	24
River	3	0	33	28	64
Total	135	12	113	73	333

STOCKS.	FE. 18	19	21	25	26	28
Bank Stock	188¼	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr. C.R.An.	71⅛	71⅞	71¾	71⅝	71⅝	71¾
3 per C. Con.	71⅛	71⅜	71½	71⅜	71⅜	71½
4 pr. C. Con.	86⅝	86¾	86⅞	88½	88½	88⅝
5 pr.Ct. Ann.	101½	101⅝	101¾	101⅝	101⅝	101½
Bank L. Ann.	20½	20⅝	20⅝	20½	20½	20¼
D°S.1778&9	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Ct.1797	103½	103½	103¾	104½	104¼	104⅜
Omnium . . .	3¼ dis	3¼ dis	3⅞ dis	4 dis	4 dis	4 dis

French 3 per cent. consolidés 62 f.

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. F.	36 2	2 us.	LEGHORN	50¾	
D°, at sight	35 9		NAPLES.	40¼	
ROTTERDAM	36 3	2 us.	GENOA	46⅛	
HAMBURGH	34 5	2½us.	VENICE, 55 livres piccole		
ALTONA. . . .	34 6	2½us.	effective per £. ster.		
PARIS 1 day	24 8		LISBON	67¾	
PARIS	24 12	2 us.	OPORTO	68¼	
BOURDEAUX,	24 13		DUBLIN	13¼	
CADIZ . . .	35¼	eff.	BILBOA	36	
MADRID . .	36	effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.		

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q.	45s. to 59s	Hops per cwt.	00s to 00s
Rye.	32 . . 35	Hay per load	78 . . 140
Barley.	20 . . 24	Beef, per stone	4s.4d. to 6s.
Malt	40 . . 45	Mutton	5s. 0d. to 6s 4d.
Oats	14 . . 19	Veal	6s. 0d. to 7s. 4d.
Pease (white)	33 . . 39	Pork. . . .	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Beans (horse)	30 . . 34	Tallow	4s. 3½d.
Flour per sack . .	44 . . 47	Av. of Sugar pr cw	40s. ½d.
Seconds.	40 . . 44	Salt, per Bushel	13s.10d.
Coals per chal. . . .	50 . . 00	Bread 9d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

STATE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.—Under this title, the public has, within these few days, been favoured with a long paper, signed by Buonaparté, the beginning of which will be found in p. 300, of this sheet. This statement will, of course, be received with great caution, particularly that part of it which relates to the revival of commerce and manufactures; but, while we totally discredit all that is said about the riches of France, we are very far from entertaining any hopes of her weakness arising from her poverty: it is the voice of Mars and not of Mammon that rules through her domains.—The Consul's observations with regard to the powers of the continent discover the same degree of contempt for truth and decency, with which he has but too often insulted the world, and which insult the world most righteously merits at his hands.—What he says, however, relative to this country, has a still higher colouring: his choicest tints are always reserved for us. After having stated, that he has an ambassador at Constantinople, engaged in renewing and fortifying the connexion between France and the Porte, he observes, that he should have a right to complain of English troops being still at Alexandria and Malta, but that he has learnt that vessels have arrived in the Mediterranean to bring those troops away. He proceeds:—"The government pledges itself for the preservation of peace on the continent, and hopes for the continuation of peace by sea; a peace which every people wants and wishes for, and to gratify this wish, the government will do every thing compatible with the national honour, which honour is essentially connected with the *strict execution of treaties*. But, in England, there are *two parties, which are disputing for power:* one has made peace and appears *determined to maintain it*; the other has sworn *an implacable hatred to France*. Hence the fluctuation in the opinions and councils of that country, and an attitude at once pacific and menacing. WHILE THIS STRUGGLE OF PARTIES SHALL LAST, there are certain measures which prudence compels the French Republic to take. *five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be, kept in readiness to defend or to* AVENGE *her.*—Strange necessity, imposed by miserable passions, on two nations who, from *common interest*, are equally attached to peace.—But, whatever be the success of intrigue at London, *it shall not draw any other nations into new leagues*; and the government says it with a laudable pride, that, ENGLAND, SINGLE-HANDED, IS NO LONGER ABLE TO CONTEND AGAINST FRANCE."—This fact, this humiliating fact, was acknowledged, ratified, signed and sealed, by the disgraceful treaty of Amiens, that treaty which, according to Mr. Sheridan, every man in England was "*glad* of," that treaty at which Mr. Fox rejoiced, because it was "glorious *to France* and *to the First Consul*." The nation, says the Maidstone patriot, "*may* be subjugated, but the people *must eat*." The same sentiment, the same acknowledgment of *inferiority to France*, of want of power to contend against her, has been made fifty times over, in the Houses of Lords and of Commons; the world now regards us as sunk into the crowd of second-rate powers; and, what is still worse, what puts the final seal to our doom, is, nine-tenths of the base people are ready to join in the confession, nay some of them even rejoice at it as the best, most effectual, and only infallible security for the durability of the "blessings of peace!"—Buonaparté has been well informed on this topic: he has traced this temper of mind through all the vehicles of public opinion, and he has, in this last address to us, made a very artful attempt to prevent the impair-

ing of sentiments so favourable to his views. He tells us, in substance, that two parties are disputing for political power amongst us; that he approves of one of them and disapproves of the other, and that until we have silenced the party which he does not like, France will keep five hundred thousand men ready to make war upon us. It is impossible to read the hints contained in this part of the statement, without reverting to the Proclamation addressed by Buonaparté to the Swiss, for whom he was then preparing a new constitution of government. "You have afforded," says he, "for two "years, *an afflicting spectacle. Opposite fac-* "*tions* have successively taken possession of "the sovereign authority." (1) He next reminded them of the "*miserable passions*," by which they were rendered continually wretched; and concluded by expressing his determination to interfere, to put an end, for ever, to this "struggle of parties," and to provide for the lasting peace and happiness of Switzerland. The rest is known. And, we again beg the English reader not to mock the poor Swiss; for the saying, though trivial is not less true, that *mocking is catching*. We do not say, that Buonaparté will order English deputies to repair to Paris, in order to receive his instructions; but, we will just take the liberty to ask, what would be the consequence if he were to insist upon the expulsion of Mr. Windham from the Parliament as the only condition of keeping peace with this country? We do not say he will make such a demand; we hope he will not; but we put the case, and should like to know the opinion of those who are the possessors of that precious *capital*, which is, in the last resort, to save us from the arms and the machinations of France: we should like to hear their candid answer to this question; whether they would not consent to, nay, whether they would not clamour for, such expulsion, rather than see the three per cents. reduced to 47? But, without having any such sudden and violent effect, the hint of Buonaparté will operate not less efficaciously. It has set the lovers of peace and plenty to thinking. They have already discovered that it is by no means so unreasonable as some people may imagine. And, indeed, what *use* are parties of? What *good* do they do? They are continually making *ill-will!* If it were not for them, there would be no war, no need of fleets, nor of armies, and, of course, no need of taxes, except just to pay the interest of the national debt; and, as a proof of this, does not Buonaparté say, that if it were not for these high-flying hot-headed fellows, he should now disband his five hundred thousand men? What a shame, that two nations, that forty or fifty millions of good sober, honest, and industrious citizens, should be kept in continual hot water, and be continually burdened with taxes, merely to humour the whim of a handful (not above two dozen) of "quixotic alarmists!" —This is the sort of sentiments, which are fast gaining ground, and that too through all ranks of life; and, we shall very soon hear it asserted, *within* as well as without doors, that it is time for all party divisions to be put an end to. In short, there will, ere long, be only one party, and that one will be composed of those persons, who may be honoured with the special good will of Buonaparté.—This is the second direct attack, which the government of France has, within these six weeks, made upon the liberty of the British Parliament. The former was more insolent, but the latter is in the *name* even of the Consul. Yet, not a word is said about this in either House. MR. SHERIDAN, who moved to have Reeves's pamphlet burnt by the hands of the common hangman, even MR. SHERIDAN, the great champion of the liberty of speech, says not a word of these publications from Paris, which circulate, in every shape that print can possibly assume, from one end of the United Kingdom to the other. Great and terrible was the outcry that he raised against the founder of the loyal associations; but, not a word does he utter against Buonaparté: no brilliant sallies: none of those borrowed jests that were wont to set the House in a roar: even the powers of plagiarism seem to have failed him: alas! poor Yorick! Quite chop-fallen!—As to the fact, respecting the evacuation of Egypt and Malta, we have no doubt of the correctness of Buonaparté's statement. Some little delay, some paltry shift, just to save appearances, will first be tried, and then the evacuation will take place, after having cost this country a million or two more than it would have cost, if the evacuation had taken place agreeably to the treaty of Amiens. Not that *we* ourselves regret this: we sincerely wish that a pole tax were laid upon the nation for the purpose of supporting the *dignity* of the Addingtons.—In answer to Buonaparté's assertion, that "*England, single handed, is* "*no longer able to contend against France*," the demi-official paper, of the 3d instant, observes, "*We trust it will not be necessary!!!*" There spoke the Addingtons! There breathed the soul of the noble high-spirited youth, who proposed the march to

(1) See Vol. II. p. 423.

Paris!—"*We trust it will not be neces-* "*sary!!!*" And, do we yet call ourselves Englishmen? Have we the impudence to affect to be descended from those men, who held it as a maxim, that one Englishman was as good as three Frenchmen? "*We* "*trust it will not be necessary!!!*" Poor whining creatures! And yet the hirelings of this ministry have the effrontery to represent the editor of *this* work as a person whose labours tend to lower the spirit, and to degrade the character, of the nation!

MR. PELTIER'S TRIAL, which was noticed in our last, and respecting which a letter will be found in another part of this sheet, is mentioned here only with a view of comparing some of the principles, laid down by the Attorney-General, with the practice, which, a few days before, received the sanction of the Royal Court of Jersey. The Attorney-General had been asked, why, if Mr. Peltier was prosecuted for libels against Buonaparté, the republishers of the infamous libels, in the Moniteur, against his Majesty and his late ministers, were not prosecuted. The Attorney-General replied, that he did not prosecute the London newsprinters for republishing the French libels against his Majesty and his ministers, because it was evident, that they did not *originate* with the publishers, and were given merely by way of conveying information. The proceedings in the Island of Jersey furnish a pretty comment upon this maxim, and show, at once, the rapid, the fearful progress, which we are making towards the goal of slavery.—For several months past, there has resided in Jersey, in contempt and defiance of the orders of government, one of those persons, whom the French have sent into the King's dominions, under the title of *Commissaires des Relations Commerciales*, and who, in general, are very expert *engineers*. The commissaire at Jersey, though acknowledged in no public capacity, had the insolence to prefer a complaint against the printers for inserting paragraphs from the London papers, offensive to Buonaparté, and to threaten, that, if the practice was not punished, Buonaparté would certainly revenge himself upon Jersey. This threat had the desired effect: two of the printers were brought before the Royal Court, on the 5th of February; and, though they were pardoned, for the first offence, seeing that they had done nothing but publish a faithful translation from the London papers; yet, a positive injunction was laid on them, not to publish, in future, any thing offensive to France, *even from the London papers!*—Has not Buonaparté got his hand in the country? Poor paltry mortals, who, while their knees knock together, affect to see no danger at hand, may amuse us with our wooden-walls and such common-place subjects of boasting; but, is there a man of sense, is there a man of truth, is there a man of honour, in the whole country who will seriously and sincerely deny that we are the slaves of this Corsican? —Mark the different doctrine in the two courts:—in Westminster Hall, it is held *lawful* to republish any articles from the Moniteur *against his Majesty:*—in the Royal Court of Jersey, it is held *unlawful* to republish any articles from the London papers *against Buonaparté!!!* The cases are exactly in point, but with this aggravation, that the injunction at Jersey goes to prohibit the circulation of what is written, printed, and tolerated, in the capital of that Empire to which Jersey belongs!!! And yet we call ourselves an *independent nation!* We may continue to do so; but, we shall not, by that trick, deceive the world: we cannot hide the disgraceful fact from ourselves, much less shall we be able to hide it from those, by whom we were formerly hated, and who have now exultingly changed their hatred into contempt.—But, in the midst of all these assaults, these new and hitherto unheard of, assaults upon what has been called the liberty of the press, where are the champions of that "*inestimable right*," that "*palladium of free men?*" Where is Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Grey, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Erskine? where is Mr. Fox, "the patriot "Fox," who is said to have lived once, during the whole of a long hard winter, upon nothing in the world but the liberty of the press? What! will he give up his meat, drink, and clothing in this way, without a struggle, without a grumble, without one single word of remonstrance! He has, indeed, learnt *la science de se taire!* Corsican, we thank thee for having humbled these men! How forward, how bold, how audacious were they, when they had to contend with a poor, feeble, faint-hearted British ministry; how resolutely did they maintain the right of Citizen Lee and thousands of others to defame their own Sovereign, his family and his sacred office! Where is now their resolution? Where is all that declamatory bombast, in favour of the press, which was wont to ring through St. Stephen's chapel from the year 1790 to 1799?

NAPPER TANDY'S LETTER TO LORD PELHAM.—This letter, which will be found, at length in our last sheet, p. 275, is worthy of our attention on account of one passage only. "With respect to my life," says the condemned traitor, "I never thought I "owed any gratitude to your government

" for it. I owe my life to *this* great and " generous people, to the *first of men*, to the " hero, the pacificator, *who said, that, if I* " *fell, I should fall with eternal lustre.*"— Now, it must be known to every one, that this publication would not have appeared, if it had been displeasing to the French government. It is little matter whether the traitor speaks truth or not: he will be believed by nine-tenths of his readers, particularly in Ireland; and, indeed, there is no reason for not believing him, since even the government papers have not ventured to contradict his statement.—What a lesson to the disaffected in Ireland! A traitor, who had borne arms against his country, who had even invaded it at the head of a French army, who had been taken, tried, and condemned, now publicly proclaims to the whole world, that he was set at liberty *in consequence of a threat of Buonaparté*! Never was there so direct, so forcible an encouragement as this traitor holds out to plots, conspiracies, and rebellion. Such an example would create treason almost under the very ribs of loyalty! Who knows what share the triumph of this villain may have had in stimulating DESPARD to the bloody deed, which he had planned, and which he was upon the point of executing? It was given in evidence against him, that he told his associates, that the attack on the Tower was postponed, because " he expected " *money* and *news* FROM FRANCE!" (2) No weight has been given to this circumstance. Great care was taken not to sift it, nay, not to touch upon it again. In this, as in all other instances, where our safety is concerned, we have discovered a fear to be informed of the truth, an anxiety not to see the horrible abyss into which we are falling. We seem to be actuated by exactly the same feeling as those unhappy wretches, who draw a cap or handkerchief over their eyes to hide from their sight the dismal apparatus of death.

ENGLISH MANUFACTURES.—In our last sheet, p. 271, we inserted an account of the proscription, if we may so express ourselves, which the Swiss, at the command of the French General, have issued against goods of English manufacture, and, indeed, against merchandize in general coming from England. In the mean time, such regulations, in consequence of the same influence, have been adopted in Holland, as must, we think, very soon shut our staple manufacture out of that country; while in Piedmont and in Spain measures have been taken to cut off from us the means of coming at the raw silk of the former, and the fine wool of the latter. As to Piedmont, it is now, thanks to the Richmond Park Ministry, the 27th military division of France, a quality which puts it, together with all its products and resources, under the absolute, and, indeed, the lawful, controul of Buonaparté, but, the ministers having affected to consider Spain as an *independent* power, the edict passed against us in that country would seem to have rather more of the nature of an act of hostility on the part of France, at whose demand it has been passed. It is well known, that the manufacture of the finest English cloths absolutely requires a certain proportion of Spanish wool. The vain attempts to supply the place of this commodity, or rather to obtain the commodity without having recourse to Spain, are fresh in every one's memory, and have only served to prove the absolute necessity of importations of wool from Spain. The French have been duly apprized of this circumstance, and, as it was foreseen and foretold at the time of making the peace, they have already taken effectual measures for obstructing, or, at least, imposing a burthen on that importation. Our dealers in Spanish wool, have, to their great surprize, found that there exists, in Spain, an edict prohibiting the exportation of wool, except it be *sold to a Frenchman*, and, we believe, unless it be also shipped first *to France*. The consequence of this measure is, not altogether a want of the commodity in our manufactures, but an enhancement of the price. Our capital, as the wise young Lord Hawkesbury told the planters of Demerara, will always (as long as it lasts) command the raw material; but it comes at a higher price than if we possessed our ancient political power; it comes loaded with a duty which it has paid at Havre de Grace; it comes charged with a tribute paid to France; paid to the nation which has more political influence than we. The trade is now carried on in this way: a partnership is formed between a house in France and a house in England. The former purchases the wool, brings it to France; and the latter receives it from France, paying, of course, a handsome profit to the French house. This is a curious mode of obtaining, at an easy rate, a share in the profits of English industry, a portion of the interest on English capital. France is a sort of sleeping partner in our national firm: she has her full portion of the benefits, without appearing in the drudgery and dirt of the business. If we complain, if we ask by what right she insists

(2) See report of the trial, True Briton, 10th ultimo.

upon this share, she will tell us: "by that "right which we have conquered from you, "*the right of the sword.*"—The lovers of "peace and *a large loaf*" will comfort themselves with observing, that it is no matter, for that the enhancement in the price of the wool will, by rendering the cloth dearer, only *take more money from our customers*, so that, in the end, the nation will lose nothing by this exertion of French power. This is not true; for, first, whatever France *gains* by our means is a loss to us; and, in the next place, a great part of "our *customers*" are *ourselves*. But, if *all* our finest cloths were actually exported, every penny of enhancement in their price, tends to give a preference to the cloths of other countries. This oppression may have no very striking effect for some time; but it will in the end, and, as the government of France becomes consolidated, capital will remove to within the sphere of its *all-protecting* power, and this removal will be greatly accelerated by the proofs, which are daily exhibited to the world, of the feebleness of our own government. Confidence in the French government is daily and hourly increasing, while the exactly opposite sentiment is growing into vogue with respect to our own. Millions of capital have already been removed, and, lamentable as is the fact, men begin to look forward to the time when the dominions of France will be *the only place of safety for property or person!* Base, infamously base indeed, must be the mind that can bear the idea of such a refuge; but, alas! it is useless to rail. We have confessed ourselves *inferior* to France; we have made a treaty with her upon the principle of *acknowledged inferiority*; it has been proclaimed to the world, and the whole world believes it, that we are *no longer able to contend against her*; and, who, then, shall blame the mass of the people for looking after security where alone it is to be found? Who shall blame them for seeking to appease before hand, the wrath of the enraged victor? With sorrow, with shame, we make the acknowledgment, but we do, from the bottom of our souls, believe, that this has been the *principal object* of a great majority of those, who have gone hence to prostrate themselves at the Court of St. Cloud! The fate, too, of the French Royalists, is a most persuasive monitor on this subject. A resistance against the French Revolutionists, whether in or out of France, has constantly been punished with ruin, and not unfrequently with death, while all their partizans have been protected, even when found at the foot of the gallows. Is it to be supposed, that this lesson has been lost upon the world, and particularly upon a people, who have been systematically taught, that nothing is of any value but *money?* That the wealthy fools will be deceived is certain: but that is no matter: they will perceive their error when it is too late to save either themselves or their country.

ST. DOMINGO.—To this very important object we find it frequently necessary to recur. The Island is not "evacuated" yet; and, if we are to believe the reports lately received, the work of reduction goes on with every prospect of success.—Many fresh troops had arrived when the last advices came away. Great numbers are upon the eve of going out. The commerce is an object of attention, as will be seen by the official dispatches in our last, p. 274. When the internal disorders of the Island are a little quieted, let Jamaica take care. The ministers seem to be duly apprized of the "*additional* security," which we have derived from the French war against the "Black Empire," and are giving a striking proof of it by keeping, on that station, just *double* the maritime force which they kept there previous to the signing of the preliminaries, though the fearful Black Empire was then in full prosperity, and though we were at war with the three principal maritime powers of Europe!—So much for Lord Castlereagh's plan of aiding in the destruction of the Black Empire for the sake of the security of our own colonies!—So much for "*safe* politicians!"

SWITZERLAND, with all its *constitutions*, will be noticed hereafter.

NOTICES.

OUR CORRESPONDENTS will have the goodness to excuse us till next week, when they shall be attended to, particularly on the affairs of the NAVY.—The Letter to LD. ST. VINCENT shall appear, without fail.

We have great pleasure in informing our readers, that the first part of the authentic and very interesting MÉMOIRES DU COMTE JOSEPH DE PUISAYE has just been published in London. This is, we believe, the most valuable work hitherto published on the French Revolution.

*** The 2d Number of the MERCURE ANGLOIS DE COBBETT was published on Wednesday last.—This work is sold by E. Harding, No. 18, Pall Mall, by DULAU and Co. Soho Square, and by Mr. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden. The work of M. DE PUISAYE is sold by the same persons.—MR. COBBETT takes this opportunity to recommend, to his friends, MR. HARDING, who has succeeded him as a Bookseller in Pall Mall, and on whose punctuality the utmust reliance may be placed.—MR. COBBETT's address is, Duke Street, Westminster.

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